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*The American Nation: a History.* Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 19. *Causes of the Civil War, 1859-1861.* By FRENCH ENSOR CHADWICK, Rear-Admiral U. S. N., recent President of the Naval War College. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1906. Pp. xiv, 372.)

THIS book falls into two parts. The first sixty-six pages contain a discussion of the general causes of the war. The first chapter, on the "Drift towards Southern Nationalization", works logically to the conclusion contained in its final sentence: "It was impossible for it [the South] to remain under a polity almost as divergent from its sympathies as the Russian autocracy of that period was from the United States of to-day" (p. 16). Chapter two discusses conditions in the South, chapter three the "Dominance of Calhoun's Political Conceptions", and chapter four the "Expectations of the South", particularly with reference to territorial expansion and the reopening of the slave-trade. These chapters show a wide reading and an acceptance of such views as have obtained general credit among the best historical students. Of course there are many subjects upon which, as yet, historians take position according to their birthplace, and of these it is sufficient to say that Admiral Chadwick was born in West Virginia and was graduated from Annapolis in 1864. Only, perhaps, his view of Calhoun deserves censure as unduly harsh.

The remaining chapters treat of the history of the country from and including the John Brown raid to the evacuation of Fort Sumter. Such an account naturally suggests comparison with the work of Mr. Rhodes. The number of words given to the period in the present volume is about three-fifths of that used by Mr. Rhodes. On the other hand, Admiral Chadwick devotes almost half as many again to the episodes of Forts Sumter and Pickens. This makes these episodes the leading feature of the volume, and the author makes it clear why he gives them this prominence. He pithily states the possibility that prompt action might have confined secession to South Carolina, but refuses to enter upon a discussion of this fascinating hypothesis. He points out the strategic importance of the coast forts, and the constitutional advantage which Lincoln derived from holding those that were left to him. He is, perhaps, a little more sharp in his criticism of President Buchanan than Mr. Rhodes, but there is here no material difference in their views. This is, however, the best picture which has ever been given of the general inefficiency of the government departments, extending into Lincoln's administration; neither Holt nor Anderson nor Scott escapes criticism, and Seward is severely castigated. The military and naval situation is presented with unusual clearness, and this whole portion of the book has the ring of a definitive account.

Admiral Chadwick is somewhat more severe in his personal judgments than Mr. Rhodes, particularly with regard to the Southern

leaders at Washington. Of Trescot he says, "That he should have been able to adjust his action to any known code of honor is one of the amazing characteristics of the situation" (p. 152). After the description of certain activities of Trescot, Floyd, and Thompson he says, "We have here a full conspiracy" (p. 158). Again, he contends that the meeting of the Southern senators on January 5, 1861, constituted a genuine conspiracy (pp. 242-245). He insists upon the point partly because he will not go so far as Mr. Rhodes in acknowledging that the extraordinary occasion excused unusual conduct (p. 242), and partly because he rates higher the influence of such leaders in determining the attitude of the South: "For throughout the South the movement at first was, in the main, one of the politicians and not of the people" (p. 149). "That the movement soon became a popular one is certain, but the extent of the domination of the politicians and the wide-spread ignorance of the people, the ease with which the feelings of an ignorant and impressionable population can be played upon, the willingness of men to have arms put into their hands to resent an injury or a supposed injury, the *ennui* of southern life, which caused a craving for excitement of any sort, can easily account for the readiness of the southern population, the step of secession once taken, to enroll itself in the military service of their states" (p. 150).

The treatment of the John Brown raid is chiefly noticeable because of the slight effect attributed to it. The campaign of 1860, the action of Congress, the secession of the Southern states, are rapidly surveyed; the development of Northern sentiment is neglected, perhaps left for the succeeding volume, but the attitude of Lincoln is sympathetically discussed. Errors are few. The statement as to the value of the hay crop in the map facing page 8, which is correct, does not agree with that of page 28; nor is proper allowance made for the fact that the hay crop was rather a burden than an asset to the North. On page 30 it is not quite clear how the figures have been obtained, but at any rate they are not consistent with each other; probably \$13,000,000 should be \$23,000,000. On page 100 it is evident that the author misunderstands the significance of the political term "non-interference." The coloring of the map opposite page 152 is incorrect in some particulars. "A majority of 10 in a total of 99" is impossible (p. 146). "Says", on page 231, should be "say".

The general equipment of the volume is like that of the others of this series. There are six maps, illustrating well-chosen points, and well constructed except the fifth, which deals with the election of 1860, a subject, perhaps, too complicated for graphic representation. The bibliography is well done, but is, perhaps, not so serviceable as a guide to the student as in some of the other volumes. The style is good; and though it occasionally runs into such barbarisms as "religiosity", it preserves on the whole an academic dignity and is clear, vigorous, and effective.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.